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121 expression in *desa* life: the village temples, the village administration and its meetings, and the village ceremonies.

I

The Temples

778 The various temples intended particularly for religious purposes on the village level demonstrate clearly to what extent religion is a fundamental factor in *desa* society. On Bali there are, of course, various categories of temples, each associated with a certain group of people.

575 592 243 312 Besides the village temples to be discussed below, there are sanctuaries venerated by the irrigation association, the family, the realm. Moreover there are special temples for sacred places such as mountain peaks, lakes, and forests, and for special voluntary associations (*puras pĕmaksan*, *puras panti*) such as *barong* groups and the like. The irrigation-association sanctuaries may be subdivided into *subak* temples, weir temples, and other sanctuaries. Among the state temples a distinction must be made between the *puras pĕnataran* of the various principalities and Pura Bĕsakih, the sanctuary for the whole of Bali. An intermediate stage between the state temples and temples at holy places is formed by the temples of origin and the *sadkayangans*. The temples of origin referred to here are neither the family *puras kawitan* or *kĕmimitan* nor the village *puras pusĕh* or navel temples, but the sanctuaries of the origin of the world which bear such various names as *pura pusĕr ing jagat* (world-navel temple), *pura pusĕr ing tasik* (sea-navel temple), *pura kĕntĕl gumi* ('temple where the whirling earth has congealed'), and the like. The *sadkayangan* temples are a group of sanctuaries of general (that is to say not local) significance, of which there are differing listings. Four or five temples recur in all these lists, but each separate list also has a few varying names. Pura Pĕnataran Sasih, Pura Batu Kau, Pura Yeh Jĕruk, and Pura Goa Lĕlawah are among the names recurring in all lists. Among the family temples are the household temples (*sanggahs*, or, for the nobility, *pĕmĕrajans*), the family origin temples (*puras kawitan* or

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621 Of the eighty villages in Buleleng on which Liefrinck provides
184 information in his excellent *desa* monographs,[48] thirteen are of this type. Eight other villages meet only at full moon in the *pura bale agung*, while four villages manifest deviations: Tamblang holds a meeting in the *pura dalĕm* at new moon followed by a meeting in the *pura bale agung* the next day, the first of the month; Sidatapa and Chĕmpaga meet only on the seventh day of the waxing moon in the *pura bale agung;* and Lĕmukih, strangely enough, meets at new moon in the *pura bale agung*.

575 The newer types of *desas*, under Hindu-Javanese influence, meet
621 once every thirty-five days according to the Javanese-Balinese or *uku* calendar, preferably on Anggara Kasih (Tuesday-Klion), but occasionally on Wednesday-Umanis, sometimes in both temples and sometimes only in the *pura bale agung*. A few villages have other days such as Wednesday-Klion, Saturday-Klion, and Thursday-Umanis.

In Buleleng, however, many villages are of a mixed type, either with one meeting at full moon and one on an *uku* day or one at new moon and the other on an *uku* day. The full-moon gathering is always in the *bale agung*, and the new-moon assembly always in the *pura dalĕm*.

575 The religious character of these meetings is perfectly obvious
621 from the situation in the oldest villages, with their two meetings
194 per Hindu-Balinese month, at full moon in the *pura bale agung* and at new moon in the *pura dalĕm*. The manner of seating strictly adhered to in all the older villages[49] confirms this character, as does also the prescribed clothing in many cases, for example in Tĕnganan, Bungaya, and Kubutambahan. Further evidence is the consecration required for members of the village administration in a great number of villages. This is sometimes very elaborate, with the consecration of the highest official (the *kĕbayan*) even more elaborate than that of the lower functionaries.

The meetings were originally religious gatherings at which the people came together as a *desa* community to discuss village affairs, those affairs being in the first place the festivals and ceremonies to be held. It was only much later that other subjects of a

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more secular nature such as land questions began to play a larger rôle, of course particularly once the Hindu-Balinese and later the Hindu-Javanese rulers appeared on the scene, demanding more and more land and taxes. Then the meetings were necessary to determine the attitude of the village and to deliberate how the *desa* could best protect itself against all such violations of its rights.

3

Village Ceremonies

The religious character of the Balinese village community reflected in its temples and its administration can of course also be traced in its various religious ceremonies. We have already seen that the village meetings are of a religious character. Korn rightly says:

> These meetings can, of course, be looked upon as assemblies, but it is better to consider them as religious gatherings. They are, in fact, accompanied by offerings, prayers, and sacred meals ...[50]

Reference has also been made to the *bale agung* as originally having been a sacral men's house and a house of worship for the clan.

The religious ceremonies recurring in every village are the anniversaries of the temples, the harvest feasts, Nyĕpi (the annual purification), and a number of other solemnities which we shall return to below. The temple anniversaries have been described repeatedly,[51] and Nyĕpi has also been treated in various places.[52]

These ceremonies demand not only financial contributions from the villagers, but also contributions in work: the women prepare offerings, the men chop meat, and the young people provide performances of dancing, music, and the like, usually within the context of the boys' and the girls' associations.

An 'ordinary' *desa* has an annual holiday calendar of some five festivals (or four at the least, and sometimes fifteen or more) each *uku* year of 210 days, and at least two others each Hindu year of roughly 360 days. The *desa* of Tĕnganan, however, holds ceremonies the year around.[53] The customary festivals in the *uku*

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769 completely purified, they are worshipped in the *pura pusĕh* as
792 deified ancestors.

792 Besides the three temples *pusĕh*, *bale agung*, and *dalĕm*, mention may also be made of the water or source temple, traditionally called *pura kayĕhan*, and more recently *pura paji*. Moreover there are the mountain temples, *puras bukit*, and the sea temples, *puras sĕgara*.

312 Besides worship in a village context the ordinary Balinese, and
575 particularly the Balinese of the plains, worship in an irrigation-
794 association context. All the parts of Bali that are irrigated are divided into large irrigation territories which are subdivided into weir districts, and those in turn into irrigation associations. Each of these territorial divisions has its own temple, though the names vary slightly from region to region. The temple of the irrigation territory whose water comes from a single lake is sometimes called *pura bĕdugul;* elsewhere the temple of the larger irrigation territory is called *pura ulun siwi*.

The weir temples are called *puras ĕmpĕlan*. The usual name of the sanctuary of an irrigation association is *pura subak*,[10] though in Gianyar this name is not to be found, and there one speaks of
[243] *pura mas-cheti*. In this latter temple the harvest festival (*usaba*) and other less important ceremonies connected with rice growing are celebrated. (It should be pointed out that though the word *usaba* now means 'harvest festival' in northern Bali, in Karangasĕm it indicates an annual temple festival. This usage is certainly an older one, and is more in agreement with the original significance of the Sanskrit word *utsawa*.[11] In general the nomenclature of the temple festivals is deviant, and often more in accord with older tradition, in Karangasĕm.)

792 Worship in a larger context than the village or irrigation asso-
794 ciation is conducted first of all in the *puras pĕnataran*, which may well be called state temples.

While the *pĕnataran* temples point towards the unity of a realm, another group of sanctuaries with a somewhat comparable character is that of the temples known as *pusĕr ing jagat*, 'the navel of the

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the web of their mutual relations, and, by means of comparative studies, to throw more light on any number of phenomena whose nature and origin are still obscure.

It is hard to say which of the various components of the *desa* system deserves priority in treatment. I have let my choice fall on Pura Pĕmayun in the *banjar* of Tĕgal, primarily because this *banjar* must be considered as one of the most important groups within the *desa* area, and also because its territory forms a relatively isolated and clearly delimited unit in the southwestern part of the town. At the same time my choice was stimulated by the presence within the temple organization of two associations charged with performing certain ceremonial dances the description of which, it is hoped, will enhance the attractiveness of this study.

2

The Worship Group

The worship group of Pura Pĕmayun is formed by the members of the *banjar* of Tĕgal, who are organized in a single neighbourhood organization. There are no data on the origin of the association, but it is not probable that a predominantly genealogical grouping lies at its basis, since it numbers persons both of the three higher castes and of the lower caste among its members.

It does not seem over-bold to assume that Pura Pĕmayun was originally a *pura panti*, though there is no knowledge of such an origin among the *banjar* members. The character of a *pura panti* is particularly clear in the region of Karangasĕm, where the term is understood to refer to a *pura pusĕh* in development, venerated by persons who have founded a new village within the territory of an existing *desa* without denying the rights of that mother village to the land.

This may be clarified by an example. In the territory of the *desa* of Sĕlat there are five daughter *desas*: Santi, Sĕbudi, Sogra, Pĕrsana, and Tĕgĕh. These five villages are distinguished from the mother village, the *desa pĕmundĕr*, by the term *desa pĕdasan*. *Pĕdasan* is understood to mean a hamlet, a new settlement. The *pĕmundĕr*

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575 778 As was mentioned, the *pura panti* is sometimes called *pura pĕmaksan* or *pura pĕnataran;* combinations of these terms such as *pura pĕmaksan panti* or *pura pĕnataran panti* also occur. *Pĕmaksan*, literally 'association', refers to the association of village founders, which will usually have been an association of farmers. Agrarian groups function as worship associations for special agrarian temples throughout the island. The most important of such agrarian sanctuaries are the *puras subak*, the irrigation-association temples, but there are also temples which have to do with dry-field farming: the so-called *puras pĕbiyanan* and *puras bĕnua*, to be found in Jĕmbrana and elsewhere. A well-known example of a temple for dry-field crops is Pura Maduwe Karang at Kubutambahan. Also named after the *pĕmaksan* founding the *pura panti* is the *bale pĕmaksan* in the forecourt of the temple, which can be considered as the prototype of the *bale agung* on the one hand, but also has in itself the possibility to develop into a *bale banjar*.

621 778 In the designation *pura pĕnataran* the accent falls on the consolidated complex of dwelling compounds (*natah* or *karang*) comprising the hamlet. Caring for ground magic, for the ritual purity of the residential village, is one of the first tasks of a new settlement. It is in this context that Ratu Maduwe Karang, who as one of the chief gods has an altar in the inner court of every *pura bale agung* in the Kintamani area and who is the guardian of the residential village and the planted fields, is to be considered.

To return to Pura Pĕmayun: there is reason to believe that this temple has developed from a *pura panti*. For historical and geographical reasons, when the *banjar* was formed the veneration of this sanctuary lying within its territory became a task entrusted to it alone.

621 628 794 In keeping with this hypothesis is the fact that the designation '*banjar* Tĕgal' suggests the founding of a hamlet amidst gardens and dry fields. There are, however, striking differences from the *pĕdasans* of the *desa* of Sĕlat. In Sĕlat the development was such that the *pĕdasans* today are essentially complete *desas* which only have to recognize certain rights exercised by the mother *desa*, while the worship group of Pura Pĕmayun is in essence a *banjar*

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643 and ornaments, antiquities such as zodiac goblets and bronze
778 *kintongans*, epigraphs in bronze and other inscriptions, and in many cases stones that are remarkable in one way or another.

The following tale is told of the origin of Panji Sakti's creese. Batara Dalĕm – a general title used to designate the ruler of Klungkung – had forty retainers and wished to have a creese made for each of them. The creeses were given the names of vassals known from history. (Panji Sakti's creese, however, is called I Baru Sĕmang.) When the forty creeses were finished and Batara Dalĕm distributed them among his retainers it appeared that there was one left over. All forty were handed in again and counted, and to everyone's amazement there were no more than forty in all. Again the creeses were distributed, and again there was one too many. No matter what stratagems were applied, the riddle could not be solved. Later Batara Dalĕm gave the extra creese to Panji Sakti, who had been brought up at the court of Klungkung and was then still called I Barak, that is to say 'the Red'. With the creese he killed a certain Ngakan Gĕndis nearby the *desa* of Panji. In this way, then, there is a connection between Pura Pĕmayun and the Klungkung dynasty, the embodiment of the Javanese-Balinese heritage.

This is the oral tradition. A study of the abundant material on Panji Sakti would no doubt lead to further commentary and conclusions.[2] The place where Panji Sakti is supposed to have lived is still pointed out in the village of Panji. In many southern Balinese villages there are tales of expeditions he led,[3] while he is also supposed to have fought in Balambangan. Both the ruler of Buleleng and the *jĕro anyar* at Sukasada trace their descent from him.

3

Pĕmaksan and Pĕsaren

792 As is the case for a great many temples in Buleleng, within the
●575 Pura Pĕmayun worship group there are smaller groups of persons who are inclined to take a more active part in religion than the masses. These groups comprise two closely cooperating organi-

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zations, one for men and one for women, which promote religious interests and care for the temple. The men's association is called *pěmaksan*, and the women's *pěsaren* (the term *kĕraman pura* is also used for the men's group). A person usually joins the *pěmaksan* or *pěsaren* either to fulfil an earlier vow or to maintain a family tradition.

There are also some fifteen persons from outside the *banjar* of Tĕgal who belong to the *pěmaksan* or *pěsaren* for particular reasons. They are people who have suffered a great deal from sickness or misfortune, and have learnt from an augur that it would be salutary for them to take part in the cult of Pura Pĕmayun. The custom of undertaking the fulfilment of some sort of religious obligation as a remedy against adversities is quite widespread on Bali. It is said of such persons that the reason for their misfortune is that while the deity of some sanctuary considers them as his subjects they fail to worship him, unconscious of their default. Travelling from one temple to another, they attempt to find out in what way they have been remiss towards which god.

The number of members of the *pěmaksan* and the *pěsaren* is, of course, not constant: at the moment of writing there are twenty people in the women's association and sixty in the men's. It repeatedly happens that when members of the *pěsaren* marry they leave the association, taking a vow that if the possibility is granted them they will later have a daughter replace them.

Both the associations have separate heads or *klihans*, each of which appoints two assistants. The *klihans* themselves are called to their function by the will of the deity; consequently the appointment of a new *klihan* takes place during the temple anniversary, through the intercession of a medium. The members of the two associations must serve in rotation, for the period from one full moon to the next, as *saya*. The *saya* acts as a sort of messenger and crier and performs a few tasks that have to be done periodically. The number of *sayas* depends on the size of the association.

Every full moon the *pěsaren* and the *pěmaksan* come together for meetings in Pura Pĕmayun. The meeting is usually held in the late forenoon. The *pěsaren* gathers in the *bale pangĕnĕm*, while the

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pĕmaksan considers as its domain the *bale pĕgongan*, the building where the *gamĕlan* is arrayed during offering ceremonials.

As a sign that the time of meeting has come, the *klihan* of the *pĕmaksan* has a special roll sounded on the signal block. When everyone has appeared, and the *pĕsayan* has been presented to the deity in the *bale pĕruman* and then distributed among those present, the discussions can begin. The *pĕsayan*, 'what the *sayas* must bring', consists of quids of betel folded in a special way.

The main subjects discussed at the meetings are measures in connection with offering ceremonials and temple maintenance. At the same time interest on outstanding loans made to members from *pĕmaksan* or *pĕsaren* funds is collected by the *klihan*. It should be mentioned that no regular contributions are levied by the associations, nor is there an entrance fee. The association funds consist of money collected from time to time by means of head levies for the financing of offering festivals, and are always small in amount. The *klihan* is entrusted with the care of the association's finances.

The activity of the *pĕsaren* and the *pĕmaksan* finds expression during the organization of temple festivals. Making and putting up decorations, arranging offerings, and caring for the lights are tasks which are performed exclusively by the two associations. The mediums needed during the religious solemnities are also recruited from among their ranks, and they appear as performers in the ritual dances. The costs of an offering ceremonial also fall to the *pĕmaksan* and the *pĕsaren* to a large extent, though the small, inexpensive offerings made regularly on certain favourable days (*rĕrainan*) are provided by the *pĕmangku*.

The temple buildings are maintained partly by the *banjar* and partly by the *pĕmaksan* and the *pĕsaren*. The walls of the inner court (except for the dividing wall between the inner court and the forecourt) are the responsibility of the *banjar*, which also cares for the altar of Dewa Ayu Ngurah Panji and for the westernmost offering platform, on which in earlier times a separate *banjar* offering was placed. The *bale pĕgongan* falls to the account of the three groups together, while the dividing wall between the two courts,

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the walls around the forecourt, and all the other *bales* and altars are maintained by the *pěmaksan* and the *pěsaren*.

Aside from the responsibilities of the *banjar* mentioned, its assistance is called for only when extraordinary expenditures or sizable operations are necessary for temple repairs or offering ceremonials. The *pěmangku* and his helpers take care that the temple grounds are kept clean, swept, and weeded. When the subjects to be discussed are of importance to him, the *pěmangku* also attends the *pěmaksan* and *pěsaren* meetings at full moon.

4

The Banjar

Everyone living within the boundaries of the *banjar* is considered a *banjar* member. The boundaries enclose only the blocks of houses, and persons living in huts in the fields are free to become members of a *banjar* or not as they like and may choose which *banjar* they will join. The territory of the *banjar*, then, is restricted to the residential village. The basic unit of the *banjar* fiscal system is the married person: there are special rates for widows, widowers, and single people.

The obligations of the *banjar* members are divided into *banjar* duties and *desa* services. The *desa* services have to do with the worship association formed by the entire *desa* of Buleleng, and are requisitioned to maintain the *pura bale agung*, the *pura dalĕm*, and the sea temple. All the *banjars* in the *desa* of Buleleng take part in the worship in these three temples. Moreover the *pura bale agung* and the sea temple are venerated by the *subaks* of Tĕgal, Banyumala, Kaliuntu, Babakan, Bĕnah Kĕlod, and Kayupas-Bĕduuran, which are responsible for half of all the costs of temple maintenance and offering ceremonials.

The levies and obligations to be contributed and fulfilled for the *desa* are divided among the various *banjars* by the *klihan* of the *desa*. As regards obligations in money the *banjars* contribute according to the number of their members; as regards work projects each *banjar* is charged with a certain task. The latter system is

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575 also followed in making levies in kind, with one *banjar* providing the bricks for a structure, a second the cement, and a third the sand, for example. *Banjars* given a work task are frequently exempted from levies. There was no case within memory of a *banjar* having protested against its levy or obligation.

Each *desa* temple also has its own *pĕmaksan* and *pĕsaren*, and the *desa* has a fixed number of core villagers, three of whom live in the *banjar* of Tĕgal.

The head of the *banjar* is the *pĕnyarikan banjar*, who is also called *klihan banjar* in his function as representative of the higher authorities. In some *banjars* the head is called *klihan mancha* if he is a member of one of the three higher castes. A new *pĕnyarikan banjar* is chosen at a meeting of the *banjar* presided over by the district head.

The activities of the *pĕnyarikan banjar* have to do with the maintenance of village streets and alleys, the graveyard, and the *banjar*-association building, the *bale banjar;* he also supervises the *banjar* funds, which are obtained from the annual rental of a coconut grove and the *alang-alang* field adjacent to it. This *banjar* ground is leased annually to the highest bidder, who then obtains the coconut crop and the harvest of *alang-alang*, which is of value as roofing. In earlier times, when the *banjar* levied entrance fees, those, too, were administrated by the *pĕnyarikan;* nowadays entrance fees are no longer customary. Contributions, too, are unknown, and the only other funds to flow into the *banjar* treasury consist of interest on loans, funds left over from those obtained for various purposes by means of head levies, and revenues from fines imposed on *banjar* members for not fulfilling obligations. To be able to administrate properly, the *pĕnyarikan* keeps a list of all the members of the *banjar.*

For the internal affairs of the *banjar* the *pĕnyarikan* appoints two assistants. Serving as criers are the *sayas desa*, a function which each *banjar* member is required to fill by turns for the period between two successive *banjar* meetings. These criers are called *saya desa* not because they belong to the organization of the *desa* proper (for they function exclusively as helpers of the *pĕnyarikan banjar*)

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but in contradistinction to the criers for soccage service, tax collecting, and other aspects of the intervention of the higher authorities, who are denoted by the term *juru arah*. In the *banjar* of Tĕgal there are always four *sayas desa* and a like number of *jurus arah*. This number has to do with the fact that the territory of the *banjar* is divided into four crier's jurisdictions named according to their directions: *kaja-kauh* (southwest), *kaja-kangin* (southeast), *kĕlod-kauh* (northwest), and *kĕlod-kangin* (northeast). The *jurus arah* are appointed permanently and assist the head of the *banjar* in his function as representative of the higher authorities. 575

Each Wednesday-Wage the *banjar* meets in the *bale banjar*. Unless he has a valid excuse, every member is required to appear at the meeting, on penalty of a fine. At the meeting fines incurred and interest on outstanding debts are collected, measures having to do with the *banjar* organization or coming offering festivals are discussed, and announcements of the *klihan desa* are made known. Before the discussions begin, the *pĕsayan*, which just as in the case of the *pĕmaksan* and *pĕsaren* meetings consists of betel folded in a special way, is presented by the members to the guardian of the signal block.

No *patus* is levied in the *banjar* of Tĕgal. *Patus* is understood as the provision of contributions in kind when one of the members of the *banjar* association is going to hold a cremation or some other expensive ceremony. In such a case the members of a *patus* association are also required to make their labour available for several days, though on the other hand custom dictates that they are to be given one or more meals each day during the period. Though the *banjar* of Tĕgal does not have such a *patus* association, the *banjar* members assist one another voluntarily whenever a cremation is being prepared. Then all sorts of materials needed in large quantities for a Balinese offering ceremony, such as firewood and banana leaves, are contributed, as are also mats of plaited bamboo on which to serve foods and chopping blocks for the preparation of meat dishes. The contributions vary according to the relationships between the persons concerned. Good manners dictate that when someone has offered his help he should be

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575 given the same sort and amount of assistance in return when the opportunity presents itself.

5

The Temples in the Banjar of Tĕgal

718 Besides Pura Pĕmayun there are three other temples in the *banjar*
575 of Tĕgal: Pura Pĕnyĕti, Pura Made, and Pura Pĕnaung. Of the four, however, Pura Pĕmayun is the only one to be an object of worship for the whole *banjar*.

Pura Pĕnyĕti is an association temple. Like Pura Pĕmayun it has a *pĕmaksan* and a *pĕsaren*, but the two groups bear all the costs of worship in the temple, and the *banjar* as such is not linked to it in any way. Even so *banjar* members go voluntarily to Pura Pĕnyĕti to perform their devotions. The anniversary of the temple falls on Wednesday-Umanis in the week of Pĕrangbakat.

794 The worship associations of Pura Made and Pura Pĕnaung are
718 even more restricted. These sanctuaries, though not strictly family temples, are only venerated by a few families. There is no tradition regarding the way in which these relationships originated. The family of Jĕro Mangku Nurasih cares for Pura Made, and that of Mangku Surata for Pura Pĕnaung. In each case the members of the family are called the 'subjects of the deity'. The *odalan* or anniversary of Pura Made is celebrated on Wednesday-Klion in the week of Sinta, and that of Pura Pĕnaung on Tumpĕk Landĕp (Saturday-Klion of Landĕp). No one except relatives of the 'subjects of the deity' performs devotions in either of the temples.

The many household temples and the various family and clan temples in the *banjar* of Tĕgal may be omitted from discussion here.

6

The Temple Grounds of Pura Pĕmayun

792 The temple of Pĕmayun is located approximately in the centre of
346 the *banjar* of Tĕgal, on the side of the built-up area lying towards the mountains. This southern side is the *kaja* side of the residential

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792 and the prefix *pra*, 'origin'. When a deity descends in an offering
192 or in a medium, that act is called *mĕlingga*. And in the *kidungs* the epithet *lingga ning jagat*, 'the *lingga* of the world', frequently occurs in royal titles.

7

The Temple Anniversary

786 The *odalan* or anniversary of Pura Pĕmayun falls on Wednesday-Klion in the week of Paang. In earlier times the anniversary was celebrated with like magnificence every Javanese-Balinese year of two hundred ten days. In recent times, however, the custom has developed to hold a memorial feast alternately on a large scale and in a simple way. It should be pointed out that this sort of arrangement is known throughout the island, though the periodicity varies. For example the order followed may be *nista-utama* (meagre-grand), *nista-madya-utama* (meagre-average-grand), *nista-nista-nista-utama*, or any of a number of other combinations.

786 On the occasion of the anniversary, pigs, ducks, and chickens
782 are used as offerings. Only wholly black pigs should be used. This is especially true in isolated mountain areas where the autochthonous black Balinese pig is still abundant. In the lowlands, where that variety has been completely supplanted by the hybrid Chinese-Balinese variety with a sagging back and a white belly, this type of pig can generally also be used. All the expenses for the offering ceremonial fall to the men's and women's associations, which divide the costs between them in proportion to the number of their members.

Counting the preparations, the temple festival lasts nine days. Five periods can be distinguished: the preparations, the day of the introductory ceremonial, the anniversary proper, then an interlude, and finally the closing day.

796 On Friday-Klion in the week of Pujut the women's association
575 begins making the offering biscuits (*jajan*) which serve as deco-
782 rations for the offerings. These preparations are completed on Monday-Pon of the following week, Paang.

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Then comes the first day of the ceremonial itself, Tuesday-Wage in Paang. This day is called *munggah sĕkar*, that is to say 'the placing of a flower offering (*sĕkar* or *puspa*) on the proper offering platform'. While the *pĕmangku* or a special expert is making things ready for this ceremony, the women's association has been busy since early morning preparing the other offerings. The *sĕkar* is looked upon as the specific regale of the gods.

In the early evening the *pĕmangku*, accompanied by the men's and women's associations, goes ceremonially to obtain the holy water, which is asked for in the ravine of a river nearby, the Banyumala. Once this has been done the *pĕmangku* goes home to change his raiment, after which he and the various mediums are fetched by the men's and women's associations in ceremonial fashion and are accompanied to the temple. There general homage is paid to the deity who makes his residence in the holy water.

Then the *pĕmangku* places the *sĕkar* on the appropriate altar (*panggungan sĕkar*). Next comes the arrangement of the various temple attributes in the *bale pangĕnĕm* and the preparation of the seats where the gods are expected to descend. The mediums take their place in the *pangĕnĕm* in solemn fashion. Then the men's and women's associations scatter water and palm wine in order to ward off evil. The liquids are considered as water with which the demonic guardians of the temple grounds and attributes can wash their hands and quench their thirst. With these ceremonials past, everything is in readiness for the invocation of the deity to descend. By this time it is past midnight, and the actual anniversary on Wednesday-Klion of Paang has begun.

In the morning of the anniversary day the members of the men's association are up and about slaughtering pigs and preparing various offering dishes, while the officiants are also provided with food. The women's association occupies itself with arranging the offerings. After the meat dishes have been prepared, the *pĕmangku* makes a purification offering in front of the various altars. Then in the afternoon the individual offerings are presented. All members of the *banjar* take part in this ceremonial.

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796 Soon after sundown the last of the offerings has been presented
782 and everyone goes home. Later in the evening the *pĕmangku* and
575 the mediums are again fetched in ritual fashion by the men's and women's associations, after which homage is once more paid to the deity in the holy water.

Towards midnight begins an essential part of the ritual: the *mĕndak nyawang*. The gods of the four directions are invited to descend and adorn the ceremony with their presence. The *pĕmangku*, performing the traditional reception ceremonies, wafts incense and presents meeting-offerings at each side of the temple grounds, turning successively to the east, the south, the west, and the north as he summons Iswara, Brahma, Mahadewa, and Wisnu respectively. In this perambulation the *pĕmangku* is accompanied by the mediums, each of them with a censer and meeting-offerings. The women's association, too, plays a rôle, assisting the *pĕmangku* and carrying offerings, as does also the men's association, which carries robes for the deities piled in high pyramids, as well as ceremonial parasols, lances, and other temple attributes.

The offerings are then placed in the *bale pangĕnĕm*, where the mediums also take their places. Panji Sakti's creese and the *pralinggas*, which were also carried in the perambulation, are placed on view in the *bale pĕruman*, where the gods are believed to have descended. Again libations are made, while palm wine and rice wine are served around, and the spiritual essence of the *sĕkar* offering on the altar is tendered to the deity by the *pĕmangku*. Then he presents the offerings in celebration of the anniversary, sitting in the *bale pangĕnĕm*. Next comes the part of the ceremony called *ngidĕrin buwana*, consisting of a perambulation three times around the inner court in the opposite direction to that followed during the *mĕndak nyawang*, with the procession passing in front of the various altars. Again the procession is led by the *pĕmangku*, and again the creese and the *pralinggas* are carried along. The mediums perform a row dance, and the men's and women's association take care of the temple attributes.

Then comes the *pendet pĕmaksan*. A varying number of members of the men's association, after providing themselves with a *pendet*

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offering, dance ritually to the altar for which they intend the offering. The dance is continued until the supply of offerings is exhausted.

Nor is that the end of the *pěmaksan*'s choreographic activities, for then comes the *mĕbiasa*,[1] a war dance performed by three pairs of men armed with spears. The men appear two at the time, approaching each other from the east and the west. Only after the *mĕbiasa* is ended has the time arrived for the *baris pendet* and the *baris dĕmang*.

By the time the *baris* performances are finished it is deep in the night, and the moment has come to invite the deity to take possession of one or more mediums. If this is successful there usually follow creese dances which for a while convert the peaceful bustle of the temple grounds into an orgy of wild obsession. Meanwhile the *pĕmangku* again makes offerings in the *bale pangĕnĕm*, after which offerings are also presented to the demons on the ground. The mediums go home, taking along their share of offering foods.

Thursday-Umanis and Friday-Paing are a quiet interlude, during which members of the men's and women's associations keep watch on the temple grounds.

Then on Saturday-Pon of Paang comes the *pĕnglĕbar*, or 'dispersal', the end of the festivities. In the forenoon the *pĕmangku* refreshes the flower offering, the *sĕkar*, in the *bale pĕruman*, and the gods are then assumed to be meeting together to confer on the way in which the offering has taken place. Meanwhile the women's association is again busy preparing offerings. When the sun has reached high noon a cockfight is held. In the afternoon the members of the *banjar* gather to make individual offerings, each going his own way after the ceremony.

The men's and women's associations, however, stay at their post. Then the ritual of fetching the *pĕmangku* and the mediums is repeated. The *pĕmangku* pays homage to the god in the holy water in the *bale pangĕnĕm*, and the mediums are again taken possession of by the deity. After the creese dances have been ended, offerings are once more made to gods and demons. The concluding part of the ceremony consists of placing the *sĕkar*, in which all magic

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8

Baris Pendet

The *baris pendet* association is a separate group whose members appear in the dress of a *baris* dancer, and with his attributes. *Baris*, of course, is a collective name for Balinese dances of a martial character.[6] The association consists of amateurs with a *pěnyarikan* as their head.

The *baris pendet*, like the *baris dĕmang*, which is to be discussed below, is one of the liturgical dances of Pura Pĕmayun, as a sign of which both *baris* associations meet in the temple every full moon in the same way as the *pĕmaksan*. The meeting is used to practise and, when necessary, to discuss the performance during the coming temple anniversary. Persons joining the association are charged the small entrance fee of ten Dutch cents: the association treasury does not have to have a large balance, since properties and musical accompaniment are the responsibility of other groups. Everything having to do with clothing falls among the tasks which the women's association has voluntarily taken upon itself, while the specific headdress of the *baris* dancers is provided by the men's association. Moreover, a part of the men's association play the *sĕmar pĕgulingan*, the orchestra accompanying the *baris pendet*, and the orchestra itself is one of the temple's possessions.

Mĕpendet or *mĕmendet* means to dance to the deity and present offerings of flowers, rice wine, spirits, incense, and water to rinse the mouth and wash the hands and feet. Clad in ceremonial dress, each of the officiants holds his offering in his right hand and dances towards the altar for which the offering is intended. In some areas, for instance in Badung, young girls under the guidance of one or more older women usually perform as *pendet* dancers, but in Pura Pĕmayun men and boys also take part. According to Van der Tuuk[7] in earlier times refreshments were presented to the guests of the ruler in this same way. It is probable that the word *pendet* is related to *pundut*, the general term for serving food. The *pendet* is one of the *mayu-ayu*, a term covering

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It should also be mentioned that when the deity manifests himself several words deviating from everyday parlance are used. The *klihans* of the *banjar* and of the men's and women's associations are referred to as *pěnyarikan;* the *pěmangku* is called *juru sapuh*, 'he who sweeps the temple ground', or *juru sapa*, 'he who recites the presentation formula when offerings are made'; and the *banjar* of Tĕgal (which, it is said, has as its full name Tĕgal Mĕlakang, 'dry plain') is always referred to as the *banjar* of Asatan (*asat*, like *tĕgal*, means dry).

In the *banjar* of Tĕgal anyone who feels called to may take part in the *pendet*. The others besides the mediums to do so are frequently members of the men's and women's associations. The persons who perform the actual dance, holding an offering in their hands, are called *pĕnampa*, from the root *tampa*, 'to carry in the hand'. Also necessary are persons receiving the offerings from the *pĕnampas*, who are called *pĕnyawi* or *pĕnampi*, that is to say one who gives something the finishing touch (*chawi*) or who receives (*tempi*).

Especially well known are the *pendet* dances in the region of Karangasĕm, where they are very frequent and customarily performed *en masse*. The *desas* of Asah and Bungaya are particularly renowned for their mass *pendet* dances. In Bungaya the dance is sometimes performed by hundreds of people at the time, recruited from the *desa*, the *banjars*, and the boys' and girls' associations. The dance is performed in rows of six, the boys in the lead, the girls in the centre, and the men on the sides and at the rear, filling the whole temple grounds with the colourful spectacle of their festive dress, and all of them provided with fine, carefully prepared offerings resembling bouquets of flowers, while the background is formed by a few rows carrying tall, waving plumed stalks of sugar-cane.

In Pura Pĕmayun nine men participate in the *baris pendet*, four of them as *pĕnampas*, four as *pĕnampis*, and one as *tĕlikan*. The *tĕlikan* is considered as having the most important rôle, and when he appears the *pĕnampas* and *pĕnampis* are required to squat down. The word *tĕlik* means 'to investigate', hence the *tĕlikan* is a kind of

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796 535 792 investigator, a superintendent. Whereas the *tĕlikan* does not carry anything in his hands, the *pĕnampas* are provided with meeting offerings. The costumes for the *baris pendet* are the same as those for ordinary *baris* dancers. The dance figure itself is called *chakra lilit*, 'intertwined quoit'.

The orchestra appropriate to the *baris pendet* is the *sĕmar pĕgulingan*, though nowadays a *gong chĕnik*, a 'small orchestra' consisting 533 534 of a *trompong*, a *saron*, a *jegog*, a *gangsa*, drums (*gupĕks*), a *kĕnong*, and cymbals (*chengcheng*), is also used. Only *gĕnding sĕsulingan*, airs in which the *sulings* or flutes can be heard, are played.

9

Baris Dĕmang

535 575 796 The *baris dĕmang*, too, is performed by its own dance group, organized in the same way as the *baris pendet* association. Also in this case there is a *pĕnyarikan* (sometimes called *klihan*) as head. The characters in the play consist of four *baris dĕmang*, four *baris dĕmung*, a *prĕbangsa*, and a *potet*, a comic disciple of the *prĕbangsa*.

796 534 535 575 The musicians in the *baris dĕmang* orchestra are also members of the association. The orchestra consists of the following instruments: a two-stringed viol (*rĕbab*), a six-slotted flute (*suling*), a pair of drums (male and female), a *kĕnok*, a *kĕmpul*, and a *kechek*. The flutes may be replaced by a set of *gangsa saron*, one of them serving as *pĕngisep* and the other as *pĕngumbang;* the *gangsas* each have thirteen keys beginning with the note *dang* and ending with *dung*. Several persons serve as *jurus payas*, persons who help with the costuming and make-up. In contrast to the *baris pendet* association, the *dĕmang* association provides all its necessaries itself. For this reason the entry fee is fifty cents; further expenses are met by head levies.

796 535 792 In their book *Dance and Drama in Bali*, De Zoete and Spies give a description of the *baris dĕmang* which may be quoted here:

> This *Baris* is only performed in one ward of Singaradja, Bandjar Tegal, and at one particular temple feast. It is danced in the manner of *Gambosh*, with the same wild, old-fashioned noise and pomp of war. In fact

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for the maintenance of the cockpit, the place where the cockfights (which should be considered as blood sacrifices with a nether-worldly significance) take place; at Buleleng the *banjars* are assisted in this respect by the *subaks* – which in the cosmic order fall in the same category.

On *pĕnĕrus* the expenses for the *gamĕlan* and the food for its players, who accompany the procession all the way to Labuhan Haji, are met by the *banjar*. The musicians are paid twenty-five rixdollars. The *banjar* moreover has the responsibility for all the 'things that are carried'. These include the creese, ceremonial lances, parasols, and all other temple attributes. The duties are apportioned among the crier's jurisdictions by the *pĕnyarikan;* anyone who cannot appear must provide for a substitute.

Further comments on the *pĕnĕrus* ceremonial are perhaps in order. The *puspa*, the offering thrown into the sea, consists of a high-piled, slender cone of flowers arranged on a wooden offering bowl. At the top of this floral cone there is a decoration of young coconut leaf in which the most widely varying motifs have been clipped in gossamer detail. This ornament serves as a mat for a water lily that crowns the cone. The lily is a substitute for the lotus. As is known, the lotus represents the cosmic focal point, the symbol and the seat of Siwa, in the system of the *nawa-sanga*. Moreover the flowers from which the *puspa* is made are arranged in the chief colours of the *nawa-sanga*, since the surface of the cone has four sections consisting in turn of white, red, yellow and dark blue flowers: white frangipane flowers, red hibiscuses, yellow *kĕmĕratan* or *kumitir*, and blue flowers of the *tĕlĕng*, a variety of creeper. When the *puspa* is to be offered the colours are oriented according to the *nawa-sanga:* the white side is turned to the east (Iswara), the red to the south (Brahma), the yellow to the west (Mahadewa), and the black to the north (Wisnu).

On *pĕnĕrus* this *puspa* is thrown into the sea nearby the sea temple at Labuhan Haji. This temple enjoys the attention of many villages in the vicinity, particularly as a place for the ceremony of purifying the gods. To mention an example, Labuhan Haji plays an important rôle in the offering ceremonial of Gobleg. It has

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782 a short time while the offering is being made. A *pasĕgĕhan* must also be accompanied by a smouldering piece of dried coconut bark as a fire offering. The ethereal essence of the offering is waved towards the ground, that is to say in the direction where the demons are presumed to be, with either the outstretched hand or an offering-cover. *Charu*, derived from Sanskrit, is another term for an offering to the demons. Usually a *charu* is larger in size than a *pasĕgĕhan*, and sometimes expensive slaughter animals such as cattle are used.

575 The purification ritual culminates in the annual all-Balinese
782 purification ceremony on new moon of the ninth month, Kasanga,
796 which is directed by the village authorities as represented by the *klihan desa* in his function as superior over all the *banjar* heads. In each *banjar* levies are made. These levies, which are collected by the *pĕnyarikan banjar* and handed over to the *klihan desa*, serve to cover the expenses of the purification ceremony, and are usually only made once the expenses have been calculated after the ceremony, in order to be able to determine the amount of each individual levy precisely.

796 In the *desa* of Buleleng the purification ceremony is held in alter-
782 nate years at the crossroads in front of the palace of the *anak agung*, the ruling prince of the region of Buleleng, and in alternate years at the crossroads in front of the village's *pura bale agung*. Beforehand a *pĕdanda* and a *sĕngguhu* request holy water in the village temple. A portion of holy water of each of the two sorts is set aside for each *banjar*, and is divided among the members of the *banjar* by the *banjar* head at the *bale banjar*. Then the *mĕbuhu-buhu* can commence. In each individual compound first the household temple and then the profane part of the compound are sprinkled with holy water. The water from the *pĕdanda* is scattered with an upward movement, and that from the *sĕngguhu* in a movement downwards. *Nasi tawar*, unsalted cooked rice, is also scattered, and certain objects are spit upon with finely chewed vegetable matter, including *mĕsuwi*, the bark of a certain tree. The entire ritual is accompanied by kettle music, the sounding of signal blocks, and the waving of burning torches.

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Chapter Two

Legal Communities in Tĕnganan

In Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan there are three kinds of legal communities: (1) the territorial communities with compulsory membership (the *desa* and the *banjar:* it is true that membership is by invitation, but refusal means complete loss of rights), (2) the non-territorial communities to which one belongs by birth (the young people's associations and the *tempek* or *pauman*), and (3) the communities formed by a free compact of individuals (irrigation associations, the *sĕkaha patus*, and music and dance associations).

I

Territorial Communities

THE DESA

The *desa* is the supreme community, which devotes itself to the service of the gods, summoning the whole population to cooperate for the purpose. Except on the occasion of a few specific religious ceremonies it is impossible for elements from outside the *desa* to participate. Anyone who marries a man or woman who is not from the village and thus acquires alien family ties loses all rights in the *desa* and must either live in the immigrant *banjar* of Pande or in Kĕstala, the hamlet for exiles. Shortcomings towards the *desa* are considered as shortcomings towards the gods, and those guilty of them are punished, often by being stripped of all their possessions and set outside the village. The Tĕngananese begin to prepare themselves for the service of the gods as children, as adolescent boys and girls they go through a whole course of training, and as married men and women they are expected to fulfil all religious obligations – a difficult task, as will be seen.

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desa of Ngis. The *pura anyĕr* or 'new temple', the residence of Batara Dalĕm Pĕngastulan, to the north of the *pura pusĕh* in the woods, is likewise a place of worship for persons from Ngis, as is the *pura pusĕh*.

The *desa* also has several bathing places, of which the *kaja-kauh* one and the one in the Pandĕk River are of importance from a religious point of view. The pen for the sacrificial buffaloes is beside the *kaja-kauh* bathing place.

THE BANJAR

The second territorial legal community is the *banjar*, which in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan is not an association competing with the *desa* in importance, as it is in the rest of southern Bali, but on the contrary is largely subordinated to the *desa* and in its service. Within Tĕnganan proper there are three *banjars*, Kauh, Tĕngah, and Pande. The *banjar* of Tĕngah is divided into two wards, Tĕngah Kĕlodan and Tĕngah Kajanan. The boundaries are determined by the *desa* sidestreets. Whereas the *desa* has the form of an association with a varying but restricted number of members, the *banjar* includes all inhabitants.

The task of the *banjar*, like that of the *desa*, is partly religious and partly secular. The *banjars* must see to it that the great *usaba* festivals of the *desa* take place in an orderly way, and in that regard they must follow all the commands of the *desa*. Moreover the *banjars* make their own offerings in the *bales banjar*, which are not assembly halls as in the rest of southern Bali, since the *banjars* do not hold meetings in the village proper.

Other tasks of the *banjars* are the cleansing of the *desa*, especially the water conduits (the whole *desa* is cleaned up for the *usaba* in the month of Kalima) and the maintenance of the streets and inclines. The proponents of the theory that the *banjar* was originally nothing more nor less than a cremation association find no support for their hypothesis in Karangasĕm, where there are a large number of *banjars* with members who do not practise cremation. The property of the *banjars* consists of their buildings, offering requisites, and small sums in cash.

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575 The *banjar* of Pande has a *pura pĕmaksan*, and the *pĕmaksan* regulation serves as its *banjar* constitution. Kĕstala has a very large *bale banjar* and temple ground. At the meetings of the *banjar* associations there the members do not gather in a single *bale*, but in various pavilions rather far apart from one another, so that discussions cannot help being more or less tumultuous. The further property of this *banjar*, which is actually a separate settlement, consists of a *pura pusĕh*, a *pura dalĕm*, and a *pura pĕmaksan*. Tĕnganan donated two *sawah* plots for the Kĕstala *pura dalĕm*. The *banjar* also has a *gamĕlan*.

2

Non-Territorial Communities

THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATIONS

575 857 Closely linked to the *desa* are the boys' and girls' associations, the *sĕkahas tĕruna* and *sĕkahas dĕha*, which play an important rôle in *desa* festivals.

There are four boys' associations. The first of them, the *sĕkaha tĕruna nyoman*, serves as a sort of training school for young boys before they can be admitted to active membership in the one of the three older boys' associations which they belong to by virtue of their birth. Those three associations are called the *sĕkaha tĕruna tĕmu kaja*, the *sĕkaha tĕruna tĕmu tĕngah*, and the *sĕkaha tĕruna tĕmu kĕlod*.

The three girls' associations are the *sĕkaha dĕha nyoman*, the *sĕkaha dĕha nĕngah*, and the *sĕkaha dĕha wayah*, which names might be taken to imply that the girls were divided according to age (since *nyoman* means youngest, *nĕngah* medium, and *wayah* oldest), but that is not the case. Nor is the *sĕkaha dĕha nyoman* a kind of training school for the other two associations as is the case with the *sĕkaha tĕruna nyoman*.

The task of the latter association is to prepare a boy for the state of adolescence. This preparation begins with a pilgrimage to various temples, an apprenticeship in the home of his *guru*, and the making of courtesy visits to the girls, who are given gifts of

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betel and sweets. The association has its own regulations and treasury. 575 857

The other boys' associations and the girls' associations help the *desa* in preparing and celebrating the *usaba* festivals, at which the girls appear as *rĕjangs* or dancing girls. The dancing of the boys is called *mĕbuang*. For their help to the *desa* at the time of the *usaba* in Kalima they are rewarded with the *lĕluputan*, a gift in paddy and money which goes into the associations' treasuries.

For the past forty years the boys' associations have owned a plot of land which the *desa* gave them as payment for roofing the new *bale agung*. Each of the boys' associations also has its own assembly and offering pavilion or *bale pĕtĕmuan*, which is also called *bale agung* in village writings and competes with the *bale agung desa* in beauty. Also in each of these pavilions there is a carved animal [332] figure above one of the crossbeams of the roof. As has already been mentioned, each of the boys' associations also has an iron *gamĕlan sĕlunding*.

The resources of these associations are kept at their *subak*, that is to say the house of a married man who has a daughter and a son and has held the post of *pĕnyarikan* in the *desa* administration. Since for the *sĕkaha tĕruna tĕmu kĕlod* no such person was to be found in the *sangyang tĕngĕn* class (a requirement in that *sĕkaha*), the association's resources are kept in the upper part of the *bale pĕtĕmuan*, which has been rebuilt into a strong storage place.

Though the young people's associations cannot refuse a request of the *desa* for help, they are completely independent as regards their resources. For example, the *desa* has to borrow the *gamĕlan sĕlunding* on festive occasions, while on the other hand it sometimes lends money to the boys' associations. The girls meet in their *gantih* or *subak*, which must fulfil the same requirements as the *subak* for the boys' associations.

No people from the *banjar* of Pande take part in the young people's associations, since there are no members of the *desa* association living in the *banjar*. In the *banjar* of Kĕstala, though there are no young people's associations there is a custom that young girls present the offerings, dancing as *rĕjangs*.

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THE TEMPEKS

575 In southern Bali the *banjars* are divided in *tempeks* or neighbourhoods, which as a rule are not legal communities. However, in Karangasĕm, and also in the *desa* of Tĕnganan, the term *tempek* or *pauman* is used to designate a legal community comprising everyone obliged to attend the ruler. In Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan there are two of these groups, the *tempekan kaja* and the *tempekan kĕlod*. In this case *kaja* (north) and *kĕlod* (south) do not have any territorial significance, since the members of each group are scattered throughout the village, but refer to the location of the *klihan*'s house. Though the task of these associations is exclusively that of providing palm and young coconut leaves to the court and performing court services, they play a significant rôle in the *desa* in that the hereditary post of *klihan tempek* apparently endows the holder with such pre-eminence that he has an important judiciary task.

The property of each of these two associations, both of which have members in the *banjar* of Pande, consists of two *sawahs* whose yield is used to supply persons going to do service at the capital with provisions for the journey. Whatever may be left over goes into the *tempek* treasury, which derives funds from fines and entrance fees as well. There is also a *tempek* in the *banjar* of Kĕstala, which owns several *sawahs* outside the territory of Tĕnganan.

575 621 The *desa*, the *banjars*, the young people's associations, and the *tempeks* are all legal communities with compulsory membership – that is to say, a person who meets membership requirements cannot refuse to join them when he is requested to do so, unless he wishes to live on almost completely without rights.

Such associations serve the general interests of the village and the ruler. Besides them there are on Bali a large number of voluntary associations to meet individual needs. Van Stein Callenfels says regarding Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, "Club life, which is highly developed on Bali in general, would appear to have reached an extraordinary level in Tĕnganan ..."[3] As I had earlier presumed,[4] this is incorrect. The village constitution forbids the creation of

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new associations other than *sawah* associations, and 'club life' is, accordingly, very restricted.

3
Voluntary Associations

SAWAH ASSOCIATIONS

It is clear from the above stipulation in the village constitution that the *sawah* associations are considered as voluntary associations. They are, in fact, not only private, but often temporary in character.

In Tĕnganan the notion does not obtain that the water belongs to the gods or to the ruler. Like the *sawah*-association temple, it is a possession of the ground. Hence anyone who owns land also has water, though it must be dammed up in the river and conducted to the *sawahs*. The irrigation system in Tĕnganan is still in the small-scale stage. Various complexes of farmland inside the *desa* were gradually made irrigable, independently of one another. The result is a large number of weirs quite close to each other which have the advantage of requiring only a small amount of labour to be repaired and maintained each year. The limited number of workers on the weirs means that no elaborate organization is necessary, especially since the persons operating the land have only a temporary interest in it: the Tĕngananese proper are forbidden to work in the ricefields, so that the offering *sawahs* of the *desa* and the membership shares and private *sawahs* of the core villagers are farmed by other people on shares. The fields are usually awarded to sharecroppers (*pĕnyakaps*) in whole complexes or *chariks* drawing their irrigation water simultaneously from one conduit, and to sharecropper associations called *sĕkahas pĕnyakap*.

Hence there are on the one hand the holders of the *sawahs* in a *charik*, organized in a *sĕkaha charik*, and on the other the *sĕkaha pĕnyakap*, consisting of all or part of the persons working the *sawahs* of the *sĕkaha charik* and looking after the waterworks.

There are fourteen *chariks* in the village territory of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, seven to the northeast of the Buhu River and

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seven to the southwest of it. The names of those in the first group (followed in parentheses by the weir irrigating them) are Mĕkahang (Mĕkahang), Pĕndusan (Pĕndusan), Nungnungan Kĕlod (Nungnungan Kĕlod), Nungnungan Kaler (Nungnungan Kangin), Sangkawan (Sangkawan), Sangkanginan (Sangkawan), and Yeh Singa (Sangkawan). The names of those in the second group are Yeh Buah (Yeh Buah), Kiskis (Kiskis), Den Umah (Den Umah), Tĕlĕpas (Babitunu), Babitunu (Babitunu), Naga Sungsang (Naga Sungsang), and Umatĕgal (Naga Sungsang).

Six of the *chariks* are said to belong to the *desa:* Mĕkahang, Pĕndusan, Nungnungan, Yeh Buah, Kiskis, and Den Umah. Nungnungan and Yeh Buah consist entirely of offering *sawahs*, and the other four comprise the membership shares of the core villagers, unless some *sawahs* are not awarded because of the small number of eligible holders, in which case the surplus is added to the offering lands.

The *sawahs* are rented out on shares (*nyakap*) to the *sĕkahas pĕnyakap*. Sangkawan, for example, is rented to the *sĕkaha banjar* of Kĕstala, and Sangkanginan to the *sĕkaha pura dadia* of Kĕstala. This sharecropper's right can be withdrawn after the harvest (as has happened in the case of the *sĕkaha desa* of Gumung), hence the *sĕkaha pĕnyakap* has no permanent interest in the lands. For this reason it seldom makes any large-scale improvements in the irrigation works, and such improvements generally have to be financed by the *sĕkaha charik*. The tunnels in the village territory, for example, were built by people from Kĕstala and Gumung in return for wages.

The power in the *charik* is concentrated in the *sĕkaha toya*, whose members are called *sinomans*. The administration consists of three *klihans:* a *klihan sĕkaha* or *subak*, a *pĕnyarikan*, and a *saya*. This administration is assisted by two criers chosen from among the members in monthly rotation. The *sĕkaha pĕnyakap* rarely convenes its meetings in the irrigation-association temple or *bĕdugul*, which is considered as belonging to the ground; usually they are held in a temple of the members of the *sĕkaha*. The *sĕkaha pĕnyakap* of Sangkanginan, for example, meets on Saturday-Klion in the

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pura dadia. Members are not allowed to appoint delegates to the meetings. 241 476 575

The task of the *klihan sĕkaha* or *subak* consists of presiding over the assemblies. Before the meeting he starts a water clock, and he strikes the signal block when the meeting begins. Then he gives an account of his management of the finances by displaying the cash on hand, which must correspond to the balance in the *pĕnyarikan*'s books. If there is a shortage he must provide a pawn and pay at the rate of 'five per two hundred'. Next he announces the division of labour and charges the *saya* to inform the members of the decisions taken. Though elsewhere the *saya* is required to provide for the requisites of the meeting, in these meetings that is the task of the criers. If the waterworks are in need of small-scale repairs, the *subak* can appoint a part of the members to perform them, with a record being kept of the assignment.

The three *klihans* are together responsible for the weir, the conduits, and the system of ditches. They measure the water shares of the members with a bamboo cylinder. In dividing the water from a single weir over more than one *charik* the officials of the *chariks* concerned consult with each other. This is easier when the *chariks* involved have a joint *klihan sĕkaha*, as is the case for Sangkawan and Sangkanginan. There the *klihan* also has the task of seeing that both *chariks* get the water they need at the right time, since the Sangkawan weir moreover provides water to the irrigation association in the *desa* of Bungaya, which uses two-thirds of all the water from the weir. Only one-third goes to the two *chariks*, and that is not enough for the whole territory at the same time, so that Sangkawan obtains the water in the fourth month (Kapat) and Sangkanginan in the ninth month (Kasanga).

If the *sĕkaha pĕnyakap* is not able to undertake large-scale repairs on its weir by itself, it asks the assistance of the *sĕkaha charik*, which requests help from the whole *desa* if need be.

The three *klihans sĕkaha*, after having a favourable day determined for the beginning of planting, must set the example by starting planting themselves. Anyone who fails to give ear to the announcement to begin to plant is fined a hundred twenty-five

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doits. The three *klihans* also direct the three important agrarian offerings: when the paddy is a month old, when it is almost ready to be harvested, and when the *nini*, the rice mother, is celebrated. The income of the *sĕkaha toya* consists primarily of fines, interest on money lent out, and *pĕngohot*. The monthly interest on money lent amounts to three doits per two hundred if a pawn is provided (to be sold if the money is not repaid), and six doits per two hundred when there is no such pawn. The *pĕngohot* is paid by members who use the irrigation water without helping to maintain the weir and the conduits. Since the *sĕkaha toya* is a voluntary association and *pĕnyakaps* are not obliged to become members, there are also people who have to pay for the use of water. This payment is made in rice, and amounts to twice the amount of paddy needed to seed the plot irrigated. The officials do not enjoy a larger share of the water, as they do elsewhere on Bali,[5] but only extra portions of the offering foods.

The task of the *klihans* of the *sĕkaha charik* consists merely of supervising the turning in of the shares of rice coming to the members of their associations. Their incomes consist of one sheaf of paddy per *tĕnah* (a unit of land planted from one handful of seedlings, roughly an acre) harvested, which sheaves are left in the field for them.

PATUS ASSOCIATIONS

The chief task of the southern Balinese *banjar* consists in the organization of cremations, with the members being required to perform certain services and make certain contributions (*patus*). In various parts of Karangasĕm, however, the term *patus* connotes all sorts of contributions, including those on such occasions as tooth-filing and marriage. In any number of Karangasĕm *banjars* persons who cremate their dead and persons who do not live mixed together, and in that case the cremation association is smaller than the *banjar* association. This is, for example, the case in the *banjar* of Pande. In the *banjar* of Kĕstala there is, besides the *banjar* association (which is also a *sĕkaha patus* in the broader sense), the *sĕkaha bĕdigul*, the cremation association, which supplements the

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task of the *patus* association for members who cremate their dead. The members of the *desa* of Tĕnganan proper do not cremate their dead and have no *patus* association.

DRAMA AND MUSIC ASSOCIATIONS

The prohibition in the *desa* constitution has been an obstacle to the rise of drama and music associations. In earlier times the stipulation was considered as an absolute prohibition, but recently the idea has developed that such associations may be founded, though the *desa* considers them as non-existent and does not arbitrate in case of differences. In Western terms one might say that the *desa* refuses to recognize their corporate capacity. The associations arising on this basis lead a languishing existence in Tĕnganan.

In Kĕstala the situation is quite the opposite. There the fact that the *bale kulkul* is a shed with a whole series of signal blocks is enough to indicate that there are a number of associations. Besides the *patus*, *bĕdigul*, and *pĕnyakap* associations mentioned above, there are also several music associations, including a *sĕkaha angklung*, which uses traditional bamboo instruments.

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The boys are actually only called *tĕruna nyoman* once their parents have taken offerings to the *guru*. The *guru* and the pupils fan the offerings while reciting a prayer, then the pupils eat the remains of the offerings. After this prayer the *guru* and the members of the three older boys' associations take the *tĕrunas nyoman* to meet the village girls for the first time. Beforehand they prepare betel and the accompanying requisites, sugar, salt, and fruits to present to the girls. (It should be pointed out that the activities of all the *tĕruna* associations consist to a large extent in forming bonds of friendship with the girls.) On this first visit the young boys must be hidden from the eyes of the girls and may not be seen by anyone on the street except the other *tĕrunas*. The visit takes place in the evening, and when the boys leave their *guru*'s home a little house plaited of split bamboo and open only at the bottom is shoved close to the compound gate. The boys scurry under it and the *pĕngawins*, the boys who were *tĕrunas nyoman* the time before, carry the house slowly while the boys of the new group walk along inside it.

The members of the girls' associations sit arranged around their officers in the *bale buga* of each group's meeting place, with the lamp, the deity, above them. They are clad in their meeting costumes, a long striped red sarong and a *gĕringsing* breastcloth, and welcome the procession with a pleasant smile. The *guru* and the *pĕngawins* declare in ornate language that the juvenile section of the Tĕngananese youth has come to pay its respects. The *tĕrunas nyoman* themselves may not laugh or make a sound.

The *pĕngawins* have beforehand taken a supply of mud to each *subak*. While the girls recite secret incantations each of the *pĕngawins* in turn tosses handfuls of mud towards the girls' officers in an underarm movement with the left hand from a distance of two fathoms. This mudslinging goes on as long as the girls continue reciting. It is forbidden to hit higher than the shoulder or to strike the lamp, and violations are fined, but the ceremony has degenerated into an occasion to tease the girls, and little attention is paid to the prohibitions: the most fun of all is to throw the lamp out. This ceremony is repeated in each of the three *subaks*,

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want to have done, charge us, your pupils, with it: we shall faithfully follow your commands by working for you." Then they all perform a *sĕmbah* before the *guru*, and various of them are unable to hide their emotion. Next the girls recite a prayer of thanks to the deity that the boys have concluded their period of learning without misfortune.

Then follows a charming ceremony. The girls say to the boys: "Come, all of you, chew some betel, there are the requisites", and they indicate a full betel box in the corner of the *bale sakanĕm*. The boys have to fetch the box, but in doing so they must continue to touch the edge of the candle-nut chest in the diagonally opposite corner of the *bale* with their toes. If they cannot reach so far lying on their stomachs they are permitted to jab in the box with their creese handle and in that way pull it towards them. Then each of them takes a betel leaf, chews on it a few times, and spits out the half-chewed leaf, after which a quid is chewed in the usual way. This concludes the ceremony.

There is an interesting comparison between the *tĕrunas nyoman* and moths. While the boys are busy with their temple expeditions they are called 'eggs', once they are in their *guru*'s house they are called 'pupae', and when the *guru* declares their period of learning ended this is called 'hatching'.

From the very beginning these boys are considered to belong to the boys' association their father belonged to. At the same time, however, they are the *pĕngawins* of the *tĕrunas nyoman* for the next year. Since all *tĕrunas* are present at the ceremonies for the *tĕrunas nyoman* there is constant contact between the younger and older groups of boys. The *tĕrunas* of the three associations also provide four officials of the *sĕkaha tĕruna nyoman* who have the task of helping to maintain order and of settling difficulties.

There is a certain connection between the three older boys' associations and the classes in the *desa*, since the *tĕruna tĕmu kaja* consists of the boys of the *sangyang*, *prajurit*, *pande*, and *bĕndesa* groups, the *tĕruna tĕmu tĕngah* of those of the *ĕmbak buluh* and the *pasĕk*, and the *tĕruna tĕmu kĕlod* those of the *ijĕng* and the two *batuguling* groups. Each of the associations has its own assembly hall,

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where the members are required to pass the night at specified times of the year.

Complementing the boys' associations are the three girls' associations. The girls – who must lead very retired lives, are not allowed to go outside the compound gate unaccompanied even during the daytime until they are engaged, and may not do any trading at the risk of being expelled from the association – do not have a preliminary training such as the young boys, nor do they have a *guru*. Nonetheless they are all able to read. Without any preliminaries, they each become a member of one of the three associations, the same one their mother belonged to.

Between the boys' associations and two of the girls' associations there is a tie called *mĕwarang*. This tie exists between the *tĕmu-kaja* and *tĕmu-tĕngah* boys' associations and the *sĕkaha dĕha nyoman*, and between the *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys' association and the *sĕkaha dĕha nĕngah*. The *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys reportedly earlier asked to be *mĕwarang* with the *dĕha wayah*, but the girls refused. The *mĕwarang* finds expression in mutual aid and the presentation of gifts, and the members of the associations involved address each other as *de warang*. Members of associations which are not *mĕwarang* call each other *sumaningsun*.

Marriage bring the Tĕngananese a step further. Both husband and wife become members of the *desa* association (the women sit on the left side at joint meetings), and the parents of the new couple lose their membership. Marriage, then, more or less upsets the division of the population according to age. In this connection it should be pointed out that in a family a younger son who marries before his elder brother is considered as having changed places with the latter. The tie between the new *desa* members and their young people's associations is maintained, since they become *palaks* of their former associations. The *desa* association and the young people's associations are highly interdependent in other ways as well: for example, during various festivals first the members of the *desa* are treated to a meal by the young people, and then the young people are given a repast by the *desa* members.

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575 The *desa* members, the core villagers, are further distinguished according to the length of their membership. The most recent *desa* members are called *pĕngluduhan*, 'those who are charged'. They sit at the lower end in the *bale agung*. The next group consists of twelve *tambĕlapus*. Then come twelve *bahans*, of which the six eldest are the *klihans bahan*, the *desa* officials in charge of day-to-day affairs who meet every evening in the *bale agung* and hence are also called *klihans desa*. The following group is that of the *klihans luanan*, or *uluanan*, 'those sitting above'. There should be six such dignitaries, including the *subak* (the *de ngijĕng*), but since that post is vacant there are only five. These *klihans* are also called *kĕbayans desa*. There is a still older group, the *klihans gumi*, but they are no longer *desa* members. This group consists of the six oldest persons (counting from the beginning of their *desa* membership) in the village who had to leave the association because of the marriage of a child when they were of *bahan* rank or higher, and whose wives are still alive.

55 575 [587] If a person loses his *desa* membership because of the death of his wife he can only become a member again by marrying a girl who has not yet been married. In that case he regains his earlier place, and if that has moved forward in the *bale agung* he obtains a higher place, so that it sometimes happens that he skips over some ranks. However, it may be the case that when he regains his membership the number of places in the rank he should occupy are all filled, and in that case he has to wait for a vacancy.

561 562 769 This whole division of the population according to age and marital status corresponds to a division of the graveyards, which, as was pointed out, consist of an eastern and a western group, each of which is subdivided in a burial ground for children who have not yet lost their milk teeth, one for older children, and one for adults.

16 626 This structure of the population is of importance in two respects. There is perhaps no other *desa* on Bali where the individual is so much fitted into the village service from the cradle to the grave as in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. There are countless imperative and

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prohibitive commandments to which the Tĕngananese is subject, and the violation of one of these regulations even in very early years has serious consequences for all of his later life. For a boy to be expelled from his association means that he cannot later become a member of the *desa*, in other words can never participate fully in religious ceremonies or obtain the customary right of disposal over five village *sawahs*. Walking through the village with a young Tĕngananese, one may suddenly hear him ask one to wait a moment until he has had his creese and sash fetched, for if he were to walk past his association *bale* without them it would cost him a fine of twenty-five hundred doits. The equivalent regulations for the *desa* members themselves are even stricter. They may not be found outside their *banjar* or the *desa* without a creese, outer garment, and sash. They have to have the permission of the village administration to go beyond the *desa* boundary. And they, their wives, and their children are prohibited from doing any number of things.

Yet to me this population structure seems even more striking as a remnant of an earlier social organization. This village where the men are exclusively tappers of palm wine and the women weavers of sacred fabrics is full of reminiscences of a totemistic clan structure such as Rassers has sketched in his various writings – a structure characterized by one single craft, totem animals, a division in left and right halves, clan temples, and initiation.[14]

After the above description of the young people's associations and the *desa* association a few further comments are necessary to complete this survey of the population of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. The able-bodied men who are not members of the *desa* are called *gumis pulangan*. For village services only one *gumi pulangan* per 'kitchen', that is to say per compound, needs to report, even though there may be more able-bodied men living in the compound. The male *desa* members plus the *gumis pulangan* are together called *tambunan gumi*. This group comes to a total of about a hundred men. The men in the village who are not able-bodied are called *gumi unggu*. A person is no longer able-bodied if he is not capable of using a hatchet. Such a person may not belong to

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561 the core villagers or to a boys' association, though boys who are
575 no longer able-bodied are considered as *palaks*. Able-bodied wid-
882 owers are also called *gumis pulangan*, and are looked upon by the *desa* as a sort of reserve, since they can again become core villagers by remarrying if their second wife is a *dĕha*. This is perhaps the reason for the regulation that if possible widowers should continue living in separate compounds, and in fact are required to do so if they have a child. (If they are childless they may move into a compound with another family, the which is called *ngĕdis*, from *kĕdis*, 'bird'.) If a widower marries a widow he remains a *gumi pulangan*.

609 It goes without saying that in a village where strangers are looked at askance, immigrants are subject to any number of restrictions. They are relegated seventeen compounds in the *banjar* of Pande, though they may be permitted to use other compounds by way of favour. They are, of course, expected to provide the village with certain services, such as caring for the village orchestra, and must help with the religious services in their *banjar*.

567 There has never been slavery in Tĕnganan, though indenture for debt does exist. In this connection attention must be called to the blacksmith family from the *desa* of Tunggak (where it still has its place of burial). This smith, who came to Tĕnganan at the request of the *desa*, was given a loan of sixty thousand doits free of interest, to be paid back in instalments, but the loan is constantly renewed on payment of the last instalment. He works gratis for the *desa* whenever that is necessary.

566 Also in perpetual servitude to the *desa* are the so-called *panjaks desa*, including the village cleaners, the *yayas*. These *yayas* have a function in the *bale agung* similar to that exercised in the *desa* by the *kĕbayans tahak*.[15] These *kĕbayans tahak*, now consisting of fourteen families, may not become members of the *desa* association. Two of them do take part in the meeting in the *bale agung* as *yayas*, but they sit at the very lowest end, below the *pĕngluduhans*, the newest *desa* members. It is the task of the *kĕbayans tahak* to keep the village territory clean. If corpses of people or dogs are found and no one admits that they belong to him, they must see

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[Information on the subak, a cooperative agricultural society with various functions, will be found in categories pertinent to the functions themselves, such as 474 for cooperative activities and 627 for informal judicial procedures.]

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622 approval, but his office may be hereditary if the son of a popular chief is believed to possess his father's virtues. Should he be found to be undesirable, he is politely asked to resign and a new *kliang* is elected. A good village chief is a popular and influential man although he may be poor and simple. Once elected and after the choice has been sanctioned by the gods, he cannot decline to hold office, except under severe penalty. Even then his services are not rewarded, and the advantages he enjoys by his position are insignificant; he receives a slightly larger share of land, perhaps a double share of the food distributed from offerings, and he is free of certain duties. He does not receive any salary despite the burden of his obligations and responsibilities; he has to administer the society, preside over the meetings, manage and organize all of the *desa* festivals. He shares the executive
[624] duties of the *desa* with the *penyarikan*, a lesser official (who is not, however, under his authority), a scribe and a number of messengers, none of whom are rewarded.

178 Under the rule of the princes the system was greatly undermined, especially where the villages grew too large to be effec-
623 tively managed by such a simple patriarchal organization. In the conquered territories the lands were gradually taken away from the *desa* and its authority was weakened until the function of the *desa* is now reduced to the upkeep of the village institutions, the celebration of village festivals, and religious ceremonies. The *desa* remains, however, the bulwark of the *adat* law, the net of traditional regulations owned by each village, in which all possible cases are carefully worked out in the most remarkable simple logic.

THE BANDJAR

621 As the *desa* Government lost control over the social and eco-
474 nomic organization and as the village grew, simultaneously with
575 the power of the local prince, it became divided into smaller communities within the *desa*, quarters or wards, the *bandjars*: cooperative societies of people bound to assist each other in

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marriages, home festivals, and especially during the expensive cremations. The various *bandjars* of a village take part in the *desa* activities, assisting in the repair and improvement of the temples and contributing to the village festivals. The *bandjars* have recaptured a great deal of the administrative power that the *desa* lost to the princes, although they are subject to the present-day Government (that of the Dutch through the princes), but they remain socially independent within their territory, with their boundaries generally established by the main road on one side, the lesser streets on another, and the rivers and ravines on the outskirts of the village. They have often ricefields worked communally to provide for their banquets and to enlarge their income, which is mainly derived from fines and entrance fees, kept in a communal bank that lends money to needy members. Everyone enjoys absolute equality and all are compelled to help one another with labour and materials, often assisting a member to build his house, to prepare his son's wedding, or to cremate a relative.

Membership is compulsory; after marriage a man receives a summons to join the *bandjar*. He is given ample time, but if after the third summons he has not joined, it is considered that he deliberately refuses to comply and he is declared morally "dead," is denied even the right to be buried in the cemetery, and is boycotted from all communal activity.

Like the *desa*, the *bandjar* is ruled by a *kliang bandjar*, elected by the members, with the choice approved by the gods through consultations with mediums. The *kliang* of the *bandjar* is not remunerated for his difficult work, except for the honour attached to his position and certain insignificant concessions like extra rice at banquets, a small percentage of the fines collected, and presents from members who receive special services, like part of the reward offered for lost cattle, for surveys, for assistance in marriages, and so forth. He cannot decline to serve and can be deposed if found unsatisfactory.

The *bandjar* has considerable property: It owns its meeting-

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halls, the *balé bandjar*, a club-house without special religious significance, with its drum-tower to call to meetings. The *balé bandjar* is provided with a kitchen and with all sorts of cooking-implements: pots and pans, chopping-blocks, knives, etc., which are lent to members who require them. The *bandjars* also own the village orchestras and the dancing-properties — costumes, masks, and head-dresses — which are stored in a *gedong*, a brick building where they are safe from theft or fire.

The men spend most of their spare time in the *balé bandjar*, gossiping, trying out their fighting cocks, watching a rehearsal of a play or of the orchestra, or just sitting. If the *bandjar* is prosperous, it takes great pride in giving elaborate banquets with music and entertainment. These may happen at the great national festivals, at the anniversary of their little *bandjar* temple, or at the inauguration of a new roof, a new orchestra or dancing-group. But also the private festivals of the members become *bandjar* affairs, and *bandjars* like Belaluan, where we lived, celebrated feasts with staggering frequency. Only the men may prepare banquet food, and often we were awakened in the middle of the night by the *kulkuls* calling them to kill the turtles and the pigs for a feast. Banquet food takes long to prepare and the animals have to be slaughtered in the middle of the night to ensure the freshness of the meat and of the sauces in the difficult climate of Bali. After two in the morning before a feast everybody was busy; the men chopping meat, cooking, scraping coconuts, building sheds and altars; the women carrying water, making offerings, cutting out ornaments of palm-leaf or wrapping individual packages of *sirih* and betel for the guests.

By noon the banquet took place, the men sitting in the *balé bandjar* in two long rows facing each other with their individual mountains of rice, pig, and turtle meats served in large squares of banana leaf, drinking *tuak* and making loud jokes. When the meal was over, *kendis* of water were passed so that the guests could wash their hands and mouths. The rest of the day and

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105 and theatre, is still one of those amazing nations that we shall never know again, one of the so-called primitive countries. It is obvious that the Balinese are by no means a primitive people, although we use the term to differentiate our own material civilization from the native cultures in which the daily life, society, arts, and religion form a united whole that cannot be separated into its component parts without disrupting it; the cultures where spiritual values dictate the mode of living.

Perhaps of even greater importance than the fascinating artistic development, and, in all probability, the factor that motivated the artistic impulse of the population, is the unique manner in which they have solved their social and economic problems. Bali presents the amazing spectacle of a compact nation of over one million hard-working, cultured people living in a deeply-rooted, well-co-ordinated form of agrarian socialism, that has, perhaps because of its elemental directness, until recently, minimized the social and economic evils that today afflict the less fortunate rest of the world. The primitive Balinese socialism flourished parallel to mediæval feudalism despite five centuries of domination by an aristocracy that with all its ruthlessness could not break down the inherent unity and co-operativism of the Balinese communities.

105 564 648 The nobility met with insurmountable passive resistance to any encroachments upon the autonomy of the villages and had finally to content themselves with the collection of tribute from their "vassals." The common people tolerated the princes, but even today they consider them as total outsiders and in most social and administrative matters the villages remain entrenched against all interference from the noble landlords, now appointed as go-betweens between the people and the Dutch Government, [651] mainly to the same office to which the threat of boycott reduced them in the past — the collection of taxes.

105 575 We have seen that the Balinese are fanatics about organization. From childhood to old age a Balinese joins all sorts of societies, from the clubs of "virgin" boys and girls, of actors,

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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musicians, and even squirrel-chasers, to the great agricultural, fishing, village, and ward associations that control the internal government of the communities. Every one of their activities is managed, not individually, but communally, with every active member having a vote and a voice in every enterprise. Naturally, individualism did not develop in the strict communalistic society; individual names are hardly ever used and they call one another "brother," "father," "teacher," or "grandfather." All art is anonymous and only recently have painters begun to sign their works, owing entirely to the influence of Europeans. This, however, did not kill individuality of expression; it is easy to detect the authorship of a certain painting or a sculpture if one is familiar with the author's work, every notable actor or dancer has his own unmistakable way of performing standard dances or improvising lines for a play, and no two orchestras play alike.

In the larger towns and in the districts where the princes held sway, landownership became more individualistic, but elsewhere the right of landed property is not recognized as absolute and an undesirable member of the community cannot hold property given to him or to his ancestors against the will of the village council. A landowner cannot sell his property within the jurisdiction of the village without authorization from the council and it can be confiscated if he misuses it or if he abuses his privileges.

Instead of the familiar exploitation, enslavement, and economic inequality imposed on the population by a ruling class of aristocrats or bureaucrats so often found in countries where the government is centralized in individuals, in Bali we find an economically independent majority that is truly democratic because every representative villager, regardless of his caste or his wealth, is an active member of the village council with an equal voice in village affairs and with equal duties to perform. The government of the villages remained impersonal and with a minimum evidence of even its existence, because power was equally divided among the members of the various councils, and the executive officials, such as *kliangs*, council heads, treasurers, and so forth,

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

center in the island of Celebes, setting up the Balinese prince, Tjokorda Soekawati, at its head and giving him the most skilful and highly trained administrative advisers as assistants. Under this system the complex society of Bali continues to function more or less unchanged, the village autonomy is maintained, the customary law carries through from the past.

Land Ownership. The basic unit of Balinese society, the village unit, has a number of forms, each of which may be referred to a period of history at which, we assume, the form as we find it today was common. The village communities fall into three main types.[2]

1. The old style villages, known as *Bali Aga* villages, show to a greater or less extent Old Indonesian patterns of social organization. Here there is no caste. Generally there is a dual organization, headed by old men. Arrangements for superannuation are provided for in the *adat* (customary law). These villages, comparatively small, follow the pattern most usual for a community of any size or type in Bali: a central compact village divided into individual house courts, and beyond the village outlying fields which are worked by the individual families.

2. In other village communities one or more of the three upper castes are represented, while the majority of the population is casteless. The proportion may run 2 or 3 per cent people with caste to 98 or 97 per cent casteless, or it may be as much as 20 or 30 per cent composed of high caste families, with correspondingly fewer of the ordinary, casteless Balinese making up the total. The ranking village members may be of Brahmana, Satrya, or Vesya caste. The casteless refer to themselves as *Anak Bali* (Balinese people) and as "followers" or "subjects" of the dominant families.

3. Towns are made up of people of caste, the casteless, and foreigners. Generally a town is the capital of the district, seat of the regional government and the palace of the local prince. It is distinguished from the usual village by a street of foreign owned shops and a larger, better supplied market.

It is customary to subdivide communities of all three of these types into *bandjars*, equivalent to wards in American cities or to the Mexican *barrios*. These *bandjars* are spatial divisions, each with a character and a name of its own. They are held together rather loosely as to social organization but linked with many kinship ties, religious ties (being members of the same village temple, for example) and very often by dramatic, dancing, and

[2] For a discussion of the importance of the village community in the whole Indonesian area see *Adat Law in Indonesia* by B. ter Haar edited with an introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

music clubs formed by the villagers. Roughly speaking, the larger the village or town, the greater the strength of the *bandjar* unit as a collective unit; and the smaller the village or town, the stronger the village or community unit (*desa* or *kota*) of which the relatively small number of *bandjars* make up the constituent parts. To give a more concrete instance, in a village of 1000, of which 500 belong to one *bandjar* and 500 to another, it is the village unit which is of primary importance and the *bandjar* unit of secondary importance. In a city of 10,000, which may be subdivided into twenty odd *bandjars*, it is the *bandjar* unit which functions cooperatively, whose members act together.

In such groups, artistic skill and ability override caste divisions. Leadership is shunned in favor of a more equalitarian regime. Satrya prince and Brahmana priest take part as equals with the rest of the village group in staging performances, rehearsing new plays or new musical compositions. Their official functions are, in these situations, laid aside.

Village groups can and do act as a unit, sharing responsibility. In one instance which I witnessed a village group had apprehended a stranger, an escaped criminal for whom an alarm had been sent out. When the man resisted, the villagers, whether wittingly or unwittingly, killed him, and every man of the village struck this stranger a blow so that when the authorities came to investigate all would be guilty together, or none.

The "head" of a village group is often merely an intermediary who represents the village to the higher authority, which may be regarded by the people as either the feudal authority of the caste system or that of some alternative system. For administrative purposes the regional divisions have not changed; the ancient kingdoms were perpetuated under Dutch rule as districts, and, after the period of the Japanese occupation, they remain the same.

In the village unit, as in the larger administrative units, there is a tendency to regard the "headship" as hereditary, and a man who has been *kepala kampoeng* (Malay, head of compound) or *prebekel* (village official) is often succeeded by his son or a younger brother, not because the office is something to be desired but because the family concerned are assumed to have the "know how" in dealing with the "higher ups." Even in some of the old style villages like Tenganan which preserve many features of Old Indonesian organization, the family of the *prebekel*, without Hinduistic caste, maintains an hereditary authoritarian position in dealing with the outside world, and this, no doubt, has been a strong factor in the preservation of the old ways into modern times.

The most usual pattern of land ownership is, as a result of the strong

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

A STUDY OF A BALINESE FAMILY

By JANE BELO

INTRODUCTORY

OF a people numbering more than a million, divided into castes, into districts which have felt the varying influences of separate dynasties of rulers, and whose religion and social structure appear in all forms from the ancient Bali-Agā to the orthodox order of the Sivaite and Buddhist Pedandas, one would be bold indeed to attempt a study of *the family*. There are no statistics, and generalizations are almost certain to be, in some sense, false. But it is true that more than ninety percent of the Balinese are Sudra, the fourth and lowest Hindu caste, called in Bali djabā,[1] or outsiders. This is to distinguish them from the Brahmana, Satrya, and Wesya, who claim descent from the Hindu-Javanese invaders of Madjapahit, conquerors of the island in the fourteenth century. These djabā are, then, more "insiders" than outsiders, the real Balinese. They are organized into village groups, the desā, each with its council to which belong all married men who are householders. The desā has its individual adat (customary law), functioning quite apart from the laws laid down by the radjas of the past or the present Dutch administration. The village has a sub-organization into two or more bandjars, spatial divisions, each with its own meeting place for the men. The bandjars may once have been divisions of family groups, but now they resemble clubs, which rival each other in gamelan and theatrical performances, whose young men nourish a feud, and whose children dare not cross the invisible line which limits their own bandjar, lest they be set upon by "the other gang." Religion to the djabā means the regular giving of offerings to the spirit of his ancestors, in his own sanggah or household temple; offerings to the gods in the village temples, under the tutelage of the Pemangkoe, a priest also of djabā caste; propitiation of demons and bad spirits, on the roadside before the house,

[1] Throughout this paper I have used the Dutch phonetic spelling for Balinese terms. This is the spelling in current use in Bali, taught in the schools.

dj	is pronounced as j in jam	(djabā)
j	is pronounced as y in yam	(wajan)
nj	is pronounced as ny in canyon	(njoman)
tj	is pronounced as ch in chew	(tjenik)
oe	is pronounced as oo in moon or u in put	(doestā, ketoet)
e	is short unless accented, as in French	(ketoet, madé, metèn)
i	is pronounced as ee in deep	(bibi)
	or as i in tick	(tjenik)
a	is pronounced as in father	(djabā)
final ā	is pronounced as the final a in America	(djabā)

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

at the crossroads, the graveyard; and only occasionally a pilgrimage to one of the temples of mountain-gods, sea-, lake-, and sacred spring-gods; proper and suitable celebration, with offerings and performances according to his means, of births, birthdays, tooth-filings, weddings, deaths, cremations, etc., in the family. As a rule it is only when some difficulty arises in the carrying out of the ordinary prescribed rites that the djabă turns to the Hindu high-priest, the Pedanda, for advice, and still more rarely, for his offices.

It has occurred to me that a study of one such ordinary Balinese—one of the 900,000 djabă—in his family relations, might be of value, not to lay down any rules, but simply as an illustration of certain common phenomena in the mores.

I have chosen, therefore, an ordinary family, in an ordinary village, lying halfway between the modern town, where the old customs are perforce breaking down, and the region of the old-style Bali-Agă villages, which in their isolation have preserved an order which is today more of a curiosity in Bali, not characteristic of the country as a whole. And so, although it must not be concluded that what has happened in this family is what necessarily would happen in any Balinese family, still the procedures may be taken as fairly typical—if one remembers that variations are great from village to village, and that the customs of the high-caste Balinese, as well as those of the Bali-Agă villages are not represented in the general picture.

A BALINESE FAMILY

Rendah is the head of his household, and therefore a pengajă, member of the village council. He owns his own pekarangan, a walled courtyard within the village limits, enclosing the shrines of his household gods, the living quarters of his immediate family, and the place of the pigs and fowls. He owns also a sufficient portion of the irrigated rice-fields surrounding the village for the maintenance of his family. The fields are tilled by himself, his brothers, and their sons when they are old enough. All the old people and the dependent women and children get enough to eat. If the crop is good, and there is rice left over, it may be sold in the market. The women cook and weave cloth (kamben) for the family, and carry up fresh water from the spring night and morning. The small girls of five or six begin to help their mothers and aunts at this task, balancing a coconut-shell full of water on their erect heads. The little boys of the same age take charge of the ducks and the water-buffalo, driving them out into the inundated rice-fields at sunrise, driving them back to their shelters near the house-court, at dusk.

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

that the line has come to be of consequence in the jural-political domain as well as in the domestic. The semi-annual ancestor worship ceremonies the group carries out now become more elaborate, stimulated, as is the building and (as the group continues to grow in power, size, and wealth) periodic renovation of the temple itself, by status rivalry with other local dadia.

Often within the large dadia, subgroups have differentiated and become corporate groups in their own right. These sub-dadia (the Balinese refer to them by a variety of terms) are composed of members of the dadia who know or feel themselves rather more closely related to one another than to the other members of the dadia. Even when there are sub-dadia, not all members of the dadia will necessarily belong to one of them. Sometimes a majority will remain free-floating dadia members and will have no sub-dadia ties at all. In one large dadia, for example, there were five sub-dadia accounting for sixty of the eighty or so kitchens in the dadia, the other twenty having no sub-dadia membership. It is the dadia, not the sub-dadia, which is the fundamental group, though the latter also often takes on important social functions.

As noted, the particular functions allocated to kin groups varies from place to place and the integration of these groups with each other and with the other social institutions becomes complex. Also, the number and relative size of kin groups in a given hamlet makes a notable difference in how both the kin groups themselves and the hamlet function. A hamlet with, say, one large dadia and four small ones, will differ in both organization and operation from one with three medium large ones plus one or two small ones, or with five or six of roughly equal size. Such issues cannot be pursued here, but it should be clear that kinship, rather than shrinking to a concern with primarily "familial" matters as tends to occur in many peasant societies, remains in Bali an important organizing force in the society generally, albeit but one among many such forces.

6. *Common membership in one or another voluntary organization.* The Balinese term for any organized group is *seka;* literally, "to be as one." Thus the group of hamlet people is called the *seka bandjar*, the irrigation group is called the *seka subak*, and there are *seka dadia*, *seka pura*, and so on. But beyond these formal, more or less obligatory groups, there are thousands of completely voluntary organizations dedicated to one or another specific purpose, which are just called seka. These cross-cut all other structural categories and are based wholly on the specific functional ends to which they are directed.

There are seka for housebuilding, for various kinds of agricultural work, for transporting goods to market, for music, dance, and drama performances, for weaving mats, moulding pottery, or making bricks, for singing and interpreting Balinese poetry, for erecting and maintaining a temple at a given waterfall or a particular sacred grove, for buying and selling food, textiles or cigarettes, and for literally dozens of other tasks. Many bandjars have seka for such highly specific purposes as hunting coconut squirrels or building simple ferris wheels for holiday celebrations. Such voluntary seka may have a half dozen or a hundred members, they may last for several weeks or for years, the

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

575 sons inheriting the fathers' memberships. Some of them build up quite sizeable treasuries and profits to divide among the members, some have yearly feasts of celebration, others even lend their earnings at interest.

[181] As seka loyalty is a major value in Balinese culture, these voluntary groups are not just peripheral organizations but a basic part of Balinese social life. Almost every Balinese belongs to three or four private seka of this sort, and the alliances formed in them balance off those formed in the more formally organized sectors of Balinese social structure in the complex cross-cutting social integration characteristic of the island. From one point of view, all of Balinese social organization can be seen as a set of formal and voluntary seka intersecting with one another in diverse ways.

7. *Common legal subordination to a single government administrative official.* 634 631 621 In addition to hamlet, irrigation society, and Kahyangan-Tiga temple organization, there is another sort of territorial unit at the rural level which stems from the organization of the Indonesian governmental bureaucracy as it reaches down into the Balinese countryside. This is the *perbekelan*, so called because it is headed by an official called a *Perbekel*. Before the Revolution the Perbekel was appointed by his Colonial superiors; since it, he is elected by his constituency. He still serves until either he retires or a movement to unseat him develops. He is always a local man, in most cases set apart from his neighbors [554] only in having somewhat more education (although in line with the traditions of Balinese statecraft, higher titled people tend to be preferred for the role). He has under him anywhere from two to a half dozen *Pengliman*, also local men, also elected, each with his own bailiwick within the perbekelan. Both Perbekel and Pengliman are paid, but not very well, by the Government according to the number of kitchens in their domain. As it is through them that the policy directives, propaganda exhortations, and social welfare activities of the Djakarta political elite filter down to the mass of the peasantry and from them that reports on local conditions start back up, they form a kind of rural civil service, a miniature administrative bureaucracy constructed out of local elements.

As might be expected, the arbitrarily drawn boundaries of perbekelan do not, save in the odd case, coincide with any other unit in Balinese society, past or present; rather, they group from four to ten hamlets into what seemed to logical, efficient Dutch administrators to be logical, efficient administrative [628] units. The result is that the hamlets involved not only may have no traditional ties with one another but may even be traditionally antagonistic, while other hamlets of long and continuing association may be separated by perbekelan boundaries. The Perbekel is thus placed in a rather anomalous position for, although his superiors tend to regard him as a "village chief" and expect him to have important traditionally based executive powers, his constituents tend to regard him as a government clerk and consequently not directly concerned with local political processes at all, the direction of which they conceive to lie in the interlocked hands of the temple, hamlet, irrigation society, kin group, and voluntary organization chiefs. The Perbekel is not governing an organic unit, but one which in most cases feels rather little internal solidarity at all and,

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

like, having its own independent treasury, rice shed, and meeting place. For larger and more important local tasks the klirans of one hamlet will fuse as a single unit; in the same way hamlets unite within perbekelan for affairs of government, and perbekelan unite within Blaju as a whole to support the Kahyangan-Tiga temples. As the irrigation societies in the Blaju area are small and land holdings are not so scattered, irrigation societies tend to be more or less informally identified with the perbekelan and hamlets closest to them, so that the whole system becomes territorialized through and through.

At the geographical center of this whole territorial complex, facing the market and the main crossroads, lies the "palace" (*puri*) of the ruling family, a walled-in, shabby-genteel complex of houseyards, temples, alleyways, and open courts about a city block square, tightly packed with more than five hundred people comprising a single Vesia-level dadia. The head of this dadia, Anak Agung Ngurah Njoman, is at the same time customary law chief for the whole area of Blaju—i.e., the four perbekelan within the Kahyangan-Tiga set. Though largely an honorary position concerned with giving advice in matters of custom, this apical role symbolizes the continuing dominance of the ruling family in the area. At the perbekelan level, two of the four perberkel are from this family (one of them again being the Anak Agung himself), the other two being ranking Sudra with traditional ties to the "castle."

The role of this elite group is strengthened in many ways. First, unlike many Balinese aristocrats, the Blaju ruling family is not impoverished. About one-fifth of all rice land in the area is still in their hands (though it is owned individually, not collectively, within the dadia), and as almost all this land is sharecropped by Sudra tenants who also have corvée obligations to their landlords, traditional patron-dependent ties remain of central integrative importance. Second, although the members of the ruling dadia live all in one place and so should be members of a single hamlet according to the territorial system, they are by traditional practice distributed among the sixteen bandjar in more or less equalized groups. They are assigned bandjar membership independent of their residence so as to insure a voice (and an ear) for the ruling house in each locality and to strengthen the unity of the whole region. Third, there is in Blaju a major temple, rivaling the Kahyangan-Tiga in importance, which is supported exclusively by all the people in the region who bear Triwangsa, upper-caste titles, thus symbolizing the importance of status and serving to ally all the local high prestige groups with the ruling dadia in its largely successful effort to maintain the traditional stratification system unimpaired.

As noted, this rather neat integration of territorialism and status is not altogether a traditional matter, but stems in part at least from rather recent reforms. The kliran subhamlet pattern, the distinctive element in the whole system, was only instituted in 1940. At this time the hamlet system was very weak, kinship unimportant, and most village functions had fallen into the hands of voluntary seka groups. "People" felt—evidently under prodding from the aristocracy, which began to reassert its leadership at this time—that

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

there were too many such groups, that they made for conflict, for a decrease in valuable public activities, and led to a kind of individualism. "The seka got rich, but the bandjar got poor." Thus all the sixteen hamlets decided at once to institute the kliran system and to ban voluntary organizations for all important functions. And when the Dutch left in 1941 the ruling family further intensified its efforts to strengthen the status system which had also been weakened in the general move toward a less organic society, producing the present pattern of organization. Territorialism in Blaju is thus not a simple survival from the distant past, but the outcome of the interaction between traditional values and the quite untraditional events of the twentieth century.

In such a system integrative strains are likely to appear across caste lines, and despite all the bowing and scraping one sees in Blaju, Sudra resentment against Triwangsa domination is quite evident. When a small Sudra dadia of Sunguhu which traditionally has the right to patronize priests appointed from among its own members rather than Brahmana ones, attempted to institute this system in Blaju a few years ago, they were expelled from their hamlet under intense Triwangsa pressure on the basis of "injuring local custom and denigrating the upper castes." Despite heavy pressures from the central bureaucracy and some local sympathy for the rebels, the Blaju upper castes held firm and the Sunguhu ultimately capitulated. But, irrespective of such strains, Blaju is rather more tightly knit than most Balinese villages: all the 1500 families were members of a single national political party, and one of the few really effective consumer-producer cooperatives in Bali was located in Blaju, its effectiveness being mainly attributable to the fact that it, too, had 100 per cent membership.

SOME THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Of the many theoretical issues growing out of the analysis of Balinese village organization, among the most interesting are those centering around questions of typology. Typologizing has always been a central concern of social anthropology because both descriptive simplicity and comparative generalization rest on the possibility of summarizing social organizations in terms of constructs at once ethnographically circumstantial and formally distinctive. Whatever their shortcomings from more sophisticated theoretical perspectives, such types as "The Indian Village," "The Chinese State," or "The Nuer Kinship System" (to say nothing of "Peasant Society," or "Segmentary Social Organization," which are perhaps best seen as second order types of types) seem essential to comparative analysis of even the most rudimentary sort. But the Balinese case, in which this methodologically fundamental task of discriminating wood from trees seems unusually difficult of accomplishment, suggests that some of the assumptions underlying our usual typologizing procedures may be in need of revision. Particularly, and perhaps paradoxically, they suggest that clues to the typologically essential may as often lie in rare or unique phenomena as they do in common or typical ones; that essential form

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OBl Indonesia
Javanese OE5 Bali OF7
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"old style" and "new style" desa. In the old-style desa a special group of married citizens is obliged and privileged to carry out the functions of worship. The membership of such groups numbers twenty or multiples of twenty. The members are holders of certain particular agricultural lands. At least, they must be landed proprietors and married. Succession to the group is based on a variety of principles. The oldest villagers have special administrative functions and a place to fulfil in the worship of the gods. Even the peacemakers in village disputes are in essence religious administrators, for they protect the village territory from defilement brought on by quarrels.

The social strata make up the Balinese village. The nuclear group of first-settlers holds the first rank. A larger group of subordinate middle-class people shares, to some extent, in the land and has limited responsibilities. Lodgers and immigrants form the third class, known as "sampingan."

In the villages situated outside of the former principalities, there are various societies, which are subordinate to the village authority. Such are the "banjar," the district society, the young men's and young women's societies, the music and drama society, and so forth. In the appanage territory these freely-formed societies exist as autonomous communities outside of village authority.

Citizenship in the new-style villages is less complex. Every adult, married male, who has a residential compound and has lived in the village for a year, is admitted to the village society. He is, in fact, obliged to join up. Administration by a village headman (kilan), sometimes assisted by some henchmen, replaces the gerontocracy of the old-style system.

Alongside of the two basic types of Balinese communities are the important irrigation associations (subak),[24] a union of sawah owners under a headman, but organized in various ways, and variously aligned with the villages.

In Lombok, the desa is a territorially-based community made up of unrelated families. It possesses an area of disposal and is governed by a "kepala desa."

11. *The Javanese desa.*—The Javanese desa is another type of community, whose base is purely territorial. Its constituency is formed of unrelated individuals and families. And in addition to the nuclear desa citizenry, there are alien, non-native residents, mainly

[24] [Cultivated fields held under a community right of disposal. See the next chapter.]